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The Indian Journal of Theology

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Hindu Festivals and the Christian Calendar

R. D. IMMANUEL

(A paper read at the Conference on Christian Worship held at Matheran in April, 1957.)

The average Hindu feels at home in the atmosphere of festivities ; feasts and festivals enable him to give his religious experience a social expression. In other words popular Hindu religion has a large element of social thinking and social feeling, and feasts and festivals are only concrete expressions of this feature of Hinduism. The Indian Christian has the same cultural background, unless he has been made to forgo it by urban or foreign influences. But since most of our Christians live in rural surroundings, the question of our attitude towards Hindu festivals is a matter for serious study and consideration. The principles underlying these festivals must be made clear if we are to make any progress at all.

THE THEOLOGY OF HINDU FESTIVALS

When a particular day is set apart as sacred, it means that certain moments or periods of time can become instruments of deeper or richer religious experience by association with events of religious importance or with the lives of spiritual leaders. If this were the only principle there would be nothing against adapting and incorporating Hindu festivals into our calendar. But along with this is a deeper and non-Christian idea, namely pantheism, according to which there is not an object in heaven or on earth or underneath the earth which the Hindu is not prepared to worship. This is a rather serious matter for the Christian, since one of the cardinal doctrines of our faith is that there is an eternal difference between the Creator and the creature and that worship, honour and glory belong to God alone. The modern Hindu can easily explain away the crudity of some of these facts philosophically, but the impression on the rural Christian will not be anything less than gross idolatry. So the greatest care must be taken to see that any festival that has in it any trace of worship of anyone other than the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ is to be rejected utterly and uncompromisingly.

When we study the evolution of festivals we find that some are magical in character, or at the best originated in nature or vegetation myths. During centuries of evolution they have been transformed and in many cases new ceremonies have been grafted on to old. There is nothing new in this for the Church. In the past the Church has taken non-Christian festivals and baptized them with Christian names, given them Christian meanings and included them in the Christian calendar.

In the festivals connected with sowing and reaping there are quite a number of magical elements. But agricultural festivals should not be discarded just because some elements in them are unworthy. Religion should pervade every aspect of life and consecrate it for the glory of God. If the Church does not care to exercise this important function of religion, secularism and materialism will invade. So the better way will be to take over the agricultural cults, purge them of all unworthy elements, and give them good Christian concepts. Instead of the unwholesome myths, the Christian doctrine of God as the supreme giver of life, and man as the steward responsible to his Maker for all that he possesses should be taught. From the point of view of theology this is one of the most important features of festivals. Feasts and festivals enable religion to pervade every aspect (secular, social or private) of human life. Church History and Theology can be taught in a very elementary but nevertheless unforgettable way by the wholesome use of festivals directed and controlled by the Church.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF HINDU FESTIVALS

Our Master compared His religion to a wedding feast, and so showed that there is no greater merit in that type of asceticism which makes suppression of the flesh an end in itself. Most of the festivals in Hinduism are occasions for joy. Any institution that helps people to be cheerful and happy has a rightful place in our religion. It is very right and proper that our days of joy and merriment should be consecrated to God and integrated with religion. Such are festivals like *Divāli* and the *Pongal*. But there are other festivals which are connected with regulating or controlling the natural appetites of man. The popular faith of Hinduism is that piety and devotion are strengthened by fastings, vigils, worship and ablutions. It also recommends gifts to holy persons, practice of austerities and physical hardships for the benefit of the spirit within. So we find that there are a number of festivals that recommend these. For instance, fasting is the rule during *Vaikuntha Ekādasi*; people are enjoined to keep a vigil throughout the night of *Śivrātri*. The principles underlying such festivals deserve our consideration and careful study. The Roman Catholic Church advocates fastings and vigils and according to certain texts, our Lord made the statement 'this kind (of demons) can come forth by nothing but by prayer and fasting'.

A large number of Protestants have given up the practice of vigils and fastings because when they are enforced in a mechanical way (as they would be if a date is fixed on the calendar and everyone everywhere is asked to fast) they become somewhat formal. So also is alms-giving. Our Master told us definitely: 'Take heed that ye do not your alms before men, to be seen of them: otherwise ye have no reward of your Father who is in heaven'. However, since the cultural background is helpful, the Church leaders, with great caution, may reinforce the practice of vigils, fastings and alms-giving.

So fasting, vigil and alms-giving on certain days especially set apart by the Church have to be considered as aids to worship. As Evelyn Underhill points out:

'It is surely mere arrogance to insist that with angels and archangels we laud and magnify the Holy Name, whilst disdaining the shaggy companions who come with us to the altar of faith: having already, indeed, discerned that altar in a darkness which we have left behind, and given costly offerings to the unknown God, whom we coldly serve. The primitive, sensitive to the mysterious quality of life, worshipping by gift and gesture, and devising ritual patterns whereby all the faculties of his nature and all the members of his group can be united in common action towards God, still remains a better model for human worship than the speculative philosopher, or the solitary quietist, for he accepts his situation humbly instead of trying to retreat from it' (*Worship*, p. 21). Whether we like it or not, we are body and mind: only when our body is given a chance to participate in such things as vigils and fasts, will our worship experience be complete.

THE SOCIAL ASPECT OF FESTIVALS

Religion is an ambivalent affair. It is an individual as well as a social phenomenon. In the past centuries, the Protestant churches as a whole, and in a general way, emphasized the individual aspect of religion. It is only recently that more and more emphasis is being laid on the social nature of religion. Feasts, festivals and fairs form a part of the indigenous technique to produce a corporate religious experience in the community. Social experience of religion is a natural and innate craving put in the heart of man by his Creator and feasts and festivals provide a congenial atmosphere for such a social expression. Let us take as an instance the car festival at Puri in Orissa. A hundred thousand or more pilgrims flock to this small town. Every year three *Rathas* or cars are constructed anew for the three deities. The one draped in blue cloth is for Jaganāth, the one in red for Subhadrā and the one in white for Balarāman. Each one is adorned with flags, floral wreaths and festoons. They are dragged over the broad path with thick ropes by pilgrims of both sexes and of all stations in life. The Raja of Puri sweeps the road before the car. A replica of the same can be seen at

Rāmeśwaram, Madurai, Conjeevaram, Tirunelveli, etc. Here is an example of a social expression of religion which can be a matter of careful study. Whether we like it or not, social phenomena condition individual feelings and emotions. So if we have projects to work out (as for instance evangelism) it is much easier to accomplish it by organizing it around a yearly festival. Of course, there are very grave disadvantages. First and foremost these outbursts of activity are not steady. Secondly, they are not based upon reason. Thirdly, there are likely to be reactions. In spite of all these shortcomings, the Church leaders as wise stewards ought to devise means and ways of making use of feasts and festivals by incorporating them in the Christian calendar. Thus it is much easier to participate in evangelistic work when everyone is doing it on a specific day. Similarly it is much easier to fast or go to Church or sing when the whole community does so; when many participate in religious festivals emotions that lie dormant in the heart are naturally roused and one member helps every other member.

In dealing with the social aspect of religion due consideration should be given to festivals like *Ashtabhandan* and *Aranya Shashthi*, and *Vijaya Daśmī*. *Ashtabhandan* is a social institution that is intended to promote the growth of genuine love and affection between brothers and sisters. *Vijaya Daśmī* is the tenth day of the waxing moon of October and the purpose of its rituals is to promote reunion, and reconciliation, obeisance to superiors, love and embrace to equals, and blessings to juniors. If there are quarrels they are made up on this day. *Aranya Shashthi* might be called the picnic festival. On this day women go in parties outside the village to a banyan tree in the neighbouring jungle and hold a sort of picnic as a part of the function. The sons-in-law are invited and entertained with food and new clothes.

Such indigenous festivals that emphasize healthy social relationships deserve to be considered for adaptation and inclusion in the Christian calendar.

THE ECONOMIC ASPECT OF FESTIVALS

Communism's one-sided emphasis on the economic and material aspect of life is a great danger to the Church. However, communism has taught the Church a lesson that she forgot to learn from our Master. He fed the five thousand and told His disciples: 'give ye them to eat'. In these days when labour and capital are tending to divide into two great camps of mutual enmity, the Church should take advantage of opportunities to bring about a reconciliation between labour and capital. One of these ways is to organize festivals to reconcile the parties. The sacredness of labour, man's stewardship of the soil, God's mercy and grace and His wonderful providence to man, all these and a score of other important doctrines are emphasized in the agricultural festivals. The trouble about them is that they are full of magic and unedifying myths and legends.

The following are some important festivals of this kind :—

1. *Akshayya Tritiyā*. This occurs in the month of *Vaiśākha* or May-June. Tradesmen begin their year this day especially when they want to start a new venture. As an advertisement, they give sweets and seasonal fruits as presents to customers.

2. *Ayutha Puja*. All those who work with tools set them apart and offer worship to their patron deity *Viśvakarmā*. It is the artisan's holiday. Women too do not cook on this day ; fried rice and confectionery are substituted for meals.

3. *Pongal*, especially *Māttu Pongal*, is an agricultural festival. The boiling of milk and sugared rice is only a magical way of insuring plenty and prosperity.

Agricultural and labour festivals have great religious value because they help religion to invade every sphere of human activity. They help us to see that earth is crammed with haven, and that trust in God our Creator and faith in His providence is a fundamental necessity for our very living. The joy of reaping the harvest should be linked to a religious festival and be transformed into a joyous thankoffering festival, as is done now in many churches.

THE HINDU CALENDAR

The Hindu calendar was adjusted to the ancient Hindu way of life—a life of agriculture. The weather was another factor that was taken into consideration. But in modern days when we have air-conditioned third class coaches in railway trains, we cannot and need not follow the Hindu calendar strictly. However, the principles should be studied and all non-Christian factors should be eschewed. All Hindu festivals are movable because they depend upon the apparent journey of the sun, the star constellations, the phases of the moon and its relative position to other bodies. On account of a pantheistic theology, the sun, moon, and stars are objects of worship for Hindus. So they are given primary importance. In the Christian calendar, such can never be the case. But at certain seasons the Indian farmer is extremely busy, while at other seasons he has little or nothing to do. If the Church does not fill the idle moments of the farmer the devil has plenty of means and ways to fill them. Evangelistic campaigns, membership crusades, financial appeals that require long and steady work, should be fixed at this time. Generally speaking our policy should be to gear consistently the Christian festivals into the recurring changes of weather, occupation, and the energy as well as the leisure of the population.

ALTERNATIVES BEFORE THE CHURCH

Such in brief are some of the features of Hindu festivals. What is the Church to do with them ? Three alternatives at least lie before us :—

1. To exclude completely any trace of Hinduism in festivals.
2. To take some festivals of the Church from the West and observe them in ways which are typically Indian.
3. To take some Hindu festivals, purge them of non-Christian elements, and give them Christian meaning and content.

Let us examine each of these. 'To exclude completely any trace of Hindu culture.' This has been more or less the policy of the early Church leaders. In their anxiety to be uncompromisingly pure in their doctrine and Christian conduct they took a very hostile attitude and there is much to be said in their favour. However, from the point of religious experience the Indian Christian, who has not some festival or other like the Hindu, is deprived of something which is his birthright. Indian Davids can slay much better the Goliaths of irreligion when they are equipped with slings and smooth stones taken from the brook, than when they are clad in the foreign armour of Saul. Indian Christianity will be expressed best when the Hindu culture is purged of its non-Christian elements and given Christian content. This would mean inventing new festivals which would suit the temperament of the people, and their practices. The following are some of the usual features of Hindu festivals:—processions; singing bands; ablutions; community gatherings; corporate undertakings for some special causes; pilgrimages; melas; conventions; vigils; fasts; continuous reading aloud of the Scriptures; offerings at a shrine; use of flowers in a special way; use of *kathas* or *kaletchepams*.

However, a note of caution must be sounded. Our Master's religion is a universal religion. It exalts above national needs the claims of the brotherhood of all nationalities. So if India is not to become a dead branch in the growing tree of the World Christian Church, it should not give up its connection with the World Church. That is why we cannot change the date of Easter or Christmas. There must be something that is common in the observance of at least the most important festivals throughout the world. So if we are to invent and introduce new festivals our aim should be only to enrich our religious experience.

The months of May and June are specially suitable for gatherings at night in the open air in most parts of India. If the Church is to introduce new festivals at that time most of the elements mentioned above could be integrated into those festivals.

The second alternative is to take some festivals of the Church and observe them in typically Indian ways. For instance we can observe feasts and hold vigils (as is done often by the Roman Catholics) during the season of Lent. One or more of the twelve practices mentioned can be easily inserted in any of our great festivals, viz. Christmas, Good Friday, Easter Day and Whit

Sunday. Care of course must be taken to see that the camel of cultural practice does not enter into the tent and drive away the master, i.e. the spirit of religion, from the tent.

The third alternative is to take some Hindu festivals, purge them of non-Christian elements and give them Christian meaning or content. If this method is adopted, the present Christian calendar will remain as it is, and the Indian Church will follow with the rest of the world the regular Christian calendar but, in addition to it, it will observe a few Hindu festivals after purifying and transforming them. Here we are on delicate ground and the utmost caution should be observed. For instance *Divāli* might be transformed into the festival of Christ the Light of the world ; suitable collects might be written and appropriate candle lighting rituals might be inserted. A Church service where this ritual takes place, with an appropriate sermon, will be an enrichment of our Christian experience. Besides this we might have processions, singing bands, *katha*, etc.

Ayutha Puja is another festival that is pregnant with possibilities. The Hindu worships his tools. But the Church can use this as an occasion for teaching the sacredness of work and for consecrating tools as well as hands and heart to the honour and glory of God. The importance lies in teaching that man receives from God everything he has, his tools as well as his skill. Special services have to be worked out for this.

Pongal is another festival which can be transformed into a festival of first fruits. That is exactly what Hindus are doing. But while they worship the sun, we bow down with reverence and heartily thank our God from whom all blessings flow.

These three alternatives need not be hard and fast watertight compartments. Through the ages, slowly but surely cultural practices are bound to get through the process of spiritual osmosis. But it is the task of our leaders to see that the true religion of our Master is not diluted or compromised.

We live in India. Our background is predominantly Hindu. This environment we cannot eradicate, but we can change it ; we cannot eradicate the pantheistic and non-Christian influences of our culture, but we can bring them under the orbit of the Church and make our weaknesses, by His grace, a means of grace for the glory of His holy name.

Christian Faith and Hindu Bhakti

SABAPATHY KULANDRAN

(An article contributed to the encyclopædia *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* in which it appears in German ; we are most grateful to the Editor for his permission to publish it in *The Indian Journal of Theology*.)

The term 'Hindu' though not originally invented by the Moslems certainly gained currency only after their invasions of India beginning from the end of the tenth century. It was applied by them to everything non-Moslem. In the field of religion, therefore, it came to denote a wide variety of religious thought and practice. A comparison of Christian or Biblical faith with it, therefore, is fraught with great difficulty, because of the incapacity of almost any judgment to hold good with perfect accuracy over the whole gamut of what is termed Hinduism. It must, therefore, be understood that when speaking about Hinduism we can only refer to certain main tendencies.

Both faith and bhakti are concerned not with affirmations about the Reality round whom or which religions centre, but with the responses made to those affirmations. Since both are concerned with human response it is natural that there should be similarities and agreements ; but since the response is evoked by different affirmations about Reality it is also natural that there should be disagreements.

Hindu bhakti agrees with Christian faith in carrying a sense of whole-hearted trust in or commitment to somebody. For this reason, to those who cling to the older tradition in Hinduism if bhakti is not an actual heterodoxy it is just a concession to human weakness. But such trust is the chief feature of bhakti religion and constitutes its main difference from the tradition stemming from the Upanishads. That Hindu bhakti is often as disinterested and intense as New Testament faith is also undeniable. A feeling of the 'otherness' of God is another characteristic of Hindu bhakti as it is of Christian *pistis*. Hindu bhakti also rises above all legalism and sacerdotalism like Christian faith. Though Hinduism is rightly regarded as a caste-ridden religion the influence of bhakti has been against caste and has greatly modified the constantly prevailing tendency to make religion a privilege of the few. Similarities of this nature between Bhakti

religions and Christianity may be so strong as to justify the statement of Śiva Vākyar that he might just as well have been worshipping in the local Christian Church, or even lend colour to the suspicion entertained by some eminent authorities that the Bhakti movement was influenced by Christian impacts from early times.

In spite of such resemblances there are important differences between Hindu bhakti and Christian faith. The differences arise largely because of the unsettled nature of the debate in Hinduism about the nature of God. The charge that Hinduism is not fundamentally concerned with the nature of God or even his existence but only with the liberation of the soul is entirely untrue. In fact, the nature of God or Reality is the main pre-occupation of all Hindu thinkers ; but the field of Hindu religious thought is not one in which the voice of the prophet has sounded crying out: ' Thus saith the Lord '. It is, therefore, not unusual to find that while the Bhakti poet is paying the most loving tribute to his god that god is suddenly slipping into the blankness of unqualified monism. This may be observed to happen in Tulsī Dās, Tukārām and even Mānikka Vāchakar and Tāyumānavar. *Advaita* and Bhakti have been said to be not contradictory theories about Reality but varying moods. The mind wavers because of a lack of certainty about the nature of god. Uncertainty at the very point where there should be certainty is a terrible solvent corroding Hindu bhakti. When Śaṅkara the teacher of the most uncompromising form of monism feels free to set himself up as a Bhakti poet we may know how weak the basis of bhakti can be.

Because what should be a subject of affirmation at the very heart of all religion continues to be a subject of unsettled dispute in Hinduism, it is not unnatural that in a field so cluttered with gods, worship though offered to one god is usually not monotheism but henotheism. The god to whom bhakti worship is most often offered is either Viṣṇu or Śiva. The devotees of each hold their god to be the supreme deity: but there is little inclination to deny existence to the other god or even to the rest of the pantheon. In fact Bhakti religion flourishes on Puranic literature, whose *raison d'être* is the existence of many gods and the need to define the relationship between them. A common theme of the Bhakti poets is the superiority of their favourite god over the others, especially those in the triad. That there should be a pantheon in the foreground while there is a monism in the background is one of the necessities of a monistic philosophy which wants to turn religious.

While the existence of other gods may be acknowledged, the essence of Bhakti is to be able to say ' *Nāṇyam daivam naiva jāne na jāne* ' (Another god, I know not, I know not). What if other gods exist ? As far as the Bhakta is concerned, only one matters. Henotheism is temporary monotheism. Concentrated worship demands that the god worshipped should be treated with a feeling

of 'otherness'; but in Hinduism there is no 'creatureliness' felt on the part of the Bhakta. The character of God never acquired sufficient distinctiveness in Hinduism to lead to a doctrine of Creation. There may be a feeling of separation from God on the part of man; but it is not a separation which leads one to say, 'Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord God of Hosts'. Before Kṛishṇa in the Gita overawes Arjuna with the shattering vision of his ultimate ontology, he has confided to him, 'Among the Pāṇḍavas I am Arjuna'. In Śāṅkara the separation between man and God is due to *Avidyā* (ignorance). In Śaiva Siddhānta the *Pāśa* which keeps man away from God is coeternal with God and the human soul. More often than not the difference between God and man in Hinduism is a metaphysical difference, in which the finite when sufficiently produced may if it does not actually become the infinite come very near it. The cry for union with God heard often in Hinduism is moving and natural, but the cry for forgiveness if heard at all sounds strange. The relationship between God and man is not such as to give rise to the need for Atonement.

New Testament religion consists of faith in Jesus Christ. 'Only believe' may be said to be the fundamental demand made on the Christian. In Hinduism generally bhakti is one of the three alternative methods of obtaining salvation. A considerable amount of philosophic thought stresses the superiority of *gñāna mārga* (way of knowledge) over other methods. Bhakti religion naturally stresses the importance of bhakti. But neither the Gita nor Rāmānuja, the authorities *par excellence* of Bhakti religion, nor Śāṇḍilya, the author of 'Bhakti Sūtra', though they plead for Bhakti, set the other ways at naught. The Teṅgalai sect, an extreme school of Bhakti, even adds two more ways to the existing list. The teaching of such alternative mārgas (ways) envisages a god who waits to be reached or attained and not a God who is striving to reconcile us to Himself.

The fact that Bhakti is considered a method of attaining to God, along with or exclusive of other methods, shows that it is set up as an instrument to appropriate grace. There has always been a tendency in Hinduism to put a certain power into the hands of man in the religious sphere. Either through sacrifice, meditation, asceticism or the repetition of formulas man was invested with certain power over the gods. The gods seem to need control, as in the last analysis their reliability is suspect. Man is, therefore, given this power. In the devotion that grew round Viṣṇu and Śiva this power became associated with Bhakti. Justification by faith in the New Testament on the other hand is acceptance of a salvation already wrought. 'I write unto you . . . because your sins are forgiven.'

There is also a difference between Hindu bhakti and Christian faith in their effects on man. According to the New Testament, if any man be in Christ he is a new creation. The range of Hindu bhakti is extremely wide, consisting of diverse

types and covering many centuries. But it may be observed that in practically all the types, Hindu bhakti, while it produces a tremendous religious preoccupation and a concentration of devotion (*ananya bhakti*) that can be oblivious of almost everything else, does not generally result in a recreation of personality. A god that can recreate the personality of others must himself be a personality of undoubted clarity.



LIFE'S PILGRIMAGE

*Pilgrims are we, which day by day
Go journeying on the world's highway,
On to our city, where is laid
A treasure that can never fade.
Six days to fare through sun and rain,
And taste our lot of joy and pain ;
The seventh to rest us from the road,
And gain our blessed sight of God !
Six days in bridal exile drear !
The next, ah joy ! for home is here !
Saith Dāsa, passing strange and wise,
In sooth, is all God doth devise.*

Uniqueness of the Hebrew Concept of History as seen in the Books of Kings

MAURICE BLANCHARD

(This and the article in our next number contain the substance of talks given in Sunday morning Bible classes at Kodai-kanal in May, 1957.)

I

In this swiftly moving history where almost four hundred years are covered in forty-seven chapters, may we discern an underlying purpose? Pick up the books and read them at any place where they fall open. Is it possible to have an understanding of the total purpose that will enable one quickly to orient himself and appreciate the historical and prophetic meaning of whatever passage he happens to be reading? At first one may be confused by the seeming disorder and irregularity with which events are recorded. Four hundred years of history recorded in forty-seven chapters, sixty-nine pages in the Revised Standard Version!! The history of the American Republic covers less than two hundred years. The history of modern missionary work in India covers less than two hundred years. The history of the struggle for India's Independence covers less than one hundred years. The very mention of these periods in history calls to mind a flood of facts, events, movements, currents, and cross-currents. What, then, of this period of four hundred years between Solomon and the Exile? Is there a clue to the interpretation of this period of Hebrew history?

Some peculiarities in the author's choice of material are significant. One cannot help asking the questions: Why did he choose to include this? Why did he choose to omit this? Out of the total of forty-seven chapters (twenty-two in First Kings and twenty-five in Second Kings) eleven chapters are given to Solomon; eight chapters to the struggle between Ahab and Elijah; another eight chapters to the work of Elisha and Jehu in wiping out the house of Omri and Ahab and removing the worship of Baal; three chapters to Hezekiah; and two chapters to Josiah. A total of thirty-two chapters out of forty-seven, therefore, given to five kings and two prophets, whereas the

story of forty-one kings is told altogether. Five kings get thirty-two chapters, and thirty-six kings get fifteen chapters. These five kings reigned for a total of 151 years during the 250 years recorded for the Northern Kingdom and 400 years recorded for the Southern Kingdom.

In the period of the Divided Kingdom (1 Kings 12–2 Kings 17) eleven-twelfths of the space are given to the kings of the Northern Kingdom. Moreover, the greatest amount of space is given to the evil kings of the Northern Kingdom during this period. Uzziah or Azariah, a good king of Judah during this period, has only seven verses (2 Kings 15:1–7), though he reigned for fifty-two years. By contrast, in the period of the lone Kingdom of Judah (2 Kings 18–25), this proportion is just reversed, and the two good kings, Hezekiah and Josiah, have almost all the space, whereas Manasseh, the bad king of Judah, who reigned longest of all the kings, fifty-five years, and whose reign was characterized by material prosperity, has only eighteen verses (2 Kings 21:1–18).

The two most outstanding kings of Israel from the point of view of government and international relations are hardly mentioned. Omri, who widened the area of the Northern Kingdom considerably and who built the new capital at Samaria, has only six verses (1 Kings 16:23–28). A century later, Shalmaneser III in an inscription knows Jehu only as the 'son of Omri'. One hundred and forty years later, on an inscription of Tiglath-pileser III, Israel is known only as the 'land of Omri'. Yet, Omri is passed over as of no significance by the author of Kings. In like manner Jeroboam II receives only seven verses (2 Kings 14:23–29). Jonah the prophet had foretold that he would be very successful in extending the borders of the Northern Kingdom to the limits originally reached under David, from Hamath to the Arabah (2 Kings 14:25). Great material prosperity marked his reign; but it was accompanied with spiritual declension and moral corruption. Assyria at this time was occupied with her own internal affairs, and thus he was given opportunity to extend and embellish his kingdom; but this is not noted in the Books of Kings.

Of the forty-one kings who reigned in both Israel and Judah, only eight merit praise from Jehovah. Six of them are praised reservedly. They did many good things, but they did not remove the high places which remained as the chief symbols of the Canaanite Baals, the chief rivals of the worship of Jehovah, oftentimes occupying the same site as the altar of Jehovah. These six kings were: Asa (1 Kings 15:11–14); Jehoshaphat (1 Kings 22:43); Jehoash (2 Kings 12:2); Amaziah (2 Kings 14:3); Azariah or Uzziah (2 Kings 15:3); Jotham (2 Kings 5:34). Two kings are praised unconditionally. They did many good things, just as these six, but in addition they removed the high places. One was Hezekiah (2 Kings 18:3–5), in whose period Isaiah was a prophet; he was most highly commended for his

trust in Jehovah (2 Kings 18:5). The other was Josiah (2 Kings 23:1-5), in whose period Jeremiah was a prophet; he was most highly commended for his constancy of purpose and singleness of heart.

It is significant that of these eight good kings all were kings of Judah. Except these, all the other kings of Judah were either unstable or bad. But, all the kings of Israel were unrestrainedly bad, and were all alike condemned. In the Southern Kingdom there was always only one dynasty, that of David. But, in the Northern Kingdom, there were nine dynasties.

Why this neglect of certain men who were otherwise important politically and economically? Why the emphasis on the work of Solomon, the struggle between Ahab and Elijah, the reforming work of Elisha and Jehu, the reigns of Hezekiah and Josiah? The purpose of the authors was evidently moral and religious. In order to understand the narratives we must realize that when they are giving history their real concern is with its moral. Included in the history are lessons of secondary importance. But if we are to see their real significance, we are to remember that everything that was written was written by prophets in the true succession from Moses, who were raised up by God as was Moses to tell their countrymen the meaning of what had happened and was continuing to happen to them in their history. The author is showing how, in the struggle between Jehovah and Baal which reached its most intense pitch in the period of the monarchy, the revelation of ethical monotheism given to Moses was preserved and new insights into its meaning were discovered. The long line of evil kings in the Northern Kingdom was given greater proportion of space because it was the purpose to show that the Northern Kingdom was given over to its enemies earlier than the Southern Kingdom on account of its long record of evil and idolatry unbroken by a single revival or reformation through more than 200 years of its history (2 Kings 17:13-18). Then, the Southern Kingdom, not learning the lesson of history from its Northern Brother and in spite of the heroic efforts of the two good kings, Hezekiah and Josiah, 135 years later was also given over to its enemies because of its sins. This is not to say that there were not other factors also contributing to the longer life of the Southern Kingdom, such as more isolated geographical location; but it is to say that to the authors of Kings the overriding cause for the captivities was moral and religious. Pfeiffer is right in saying the Books of Kings are a 'theological treatise', but his interpretation of its significance misses the mark.

There are serious difficulties involved in this moral and religious view of history. Why do the righteous sometimes suffer and the unrighteous prosper? Why did Manasseh, the most wicked king of Judah, son of the good king Hezekiah, enjoy the longest reign of all (55 years), and why such peace and prosperity? Why did Josiah the reformer meet violent death at

the battle of Megiddo (2 Kings 23:28-30), while heretical Omri and Jeroboam II were eminently successful in peace and war and died a natural death?

The question may be asked in these days: 'Is all of history just a matter of the power of intelligence, efficient administration, disciplined organization, material force and power of personality? Or, is there a moral judgement in history?' The writers of Kings would say that all these factors have their place, but that the moral judgement overrides them all. The interpretation of this purpose does not allow that a morally upright king who committed a rash, unwise deed would be automatically protected just because of his moral goodness and devotion. Some of the best kings made a serious mistake of judgement and suffered because of it. Asa who deposed his heathen mother from being queen-mother, nevertheless made a costly alliance with Syria against Israel, and suffered from it (1 Kings 15:16-24). Jehoshaphat committed a serious mistake by taking the daughter of Ahab and Jezebel as wife for his son Jehoram (2 Kings 8:18), and also by joining forces with Ahab in battle (1 Kings 22:1-4). Hezekiah was, too, friendly and open-handed with the Babylonians, and failed to give a testimony to them concerning the living God Who had just restored him to life from a dread disease (2 Kings 20:12-15). Josiah was killed in a battle which he had unnecessarily and unwisely entered (2 Kings 23:28-30).

Intelligence, efficiency, discipline, sagacity, force of personality, all of these have their part in determining whether a kingdom flourishes or falls, according to the Books of Kings. If all of these are present, even without fear of Jehovah and devotion to His covenant, a kingdom may flourish for a while. If all of these qualities are present and combined with fear of Jehovah and devotion to His covenant, a kingdom will flourish for ever. But, the overriding consideration, the most important basis on which God's judgement and His blessing are determined, is the attitude of the heart towards Him and His law. Through all the history of the Hebrews as recorded in the Books of Kings, God is seen to be patient and merciful, but bound to punish evil in the end. Jehovah transcends history, and judges men and nations in history.

Is this view of history unique? Is it even significant? At the risk of too-great over-simplification, contrasting views of world history may now be briefly named and summarized, for the sake of comparison and contrast with the Hebrew view. Six world-views may be briefly considered: (1) To many Greek and Hindu philosophers, time is a wheel of unending recurrences, one circle after another, and each part of a bigger circle, itself connected to a bigger circle. This view is also accepted in the West today, and finds expression in Spengler's *The Decline of the Occident*. (2) To some Greek and Roman philosophers, and to such psychologists as Freud and Watson, the world of nature and the world of man are phases in a cosmic machine.

Man as a part of nature is controlled completely from the outside, just as any other piece of the cosmic machine is controlled. Heredity and environment determine one's destiny, and determine the destiny of a nation. History moves in a straight line. Mohammedanism largely accepts this mechanistic view of history also. (3) To Hegel, history was a dialectical process, the interacting of 'thesis' with 'antithesis' to produce a new 'synthesis', which itself became the 'thesis' for the next step in the development of history. In this view, history moves in a zigzag line. Every sphere of history—social, political and religious—is interpreted according to this dialectical process. For Hegel, history was the onward march, zigzag fashion, of the Absolute Idea which found supreme expression in the State. (4) A fourth view, the biological, was produced by science in the nineteenth century. Having discovered certain laws in operation among plants and animals, men sought to superimpose those same categories on the study of the history of man. They observed that Nature (equivalent to God for them) was prodigal with the individual but careful of the species, that the law of the jungle was the survival of the fittest, and they sought to interpret human history according to these same laws. The Biological View of History and the Dialectical View found support from each other. Science and philosophy joined to enunciate the doctrine of Automatic and Inevitable Progress. (5) A fifth view, that of dialectical materialism, has been compounded in this century, based upon previous views and going beyond them. To Marx, Hegel's finest pupil, the Absolute Idea of Hegel became manifest in the economic factor in history; all ideas were motivated by purely economic considerations. Capitalism was necessary at a certain stage of human history. Economic man has now reached the stage of rejecting this 'thesis' for an antithesis, which will work for the production of a new synthesis, in the next generation. This view amounts to a religious faith, for in their view the cosmic process is on their side, history is working with them. (6) More recently, another view has been put forth by Toynbee, to the intent that history is a stage, a great world-stage, on which is being fought out a personal conflict between supernatural forces striving for mastery over the soul of men.

When set alongside these other views of history the uniqueness of the Hebrew interpretation of history as seen in the Books of Kings becomes more sharp and clear than before. It is not our purpose here to inquire whether the authors of Kings have fully established their view of history by the facts they have recorded. Our first purpose is to get their view clearly in mind. It is not our purpose here to claim that the Hebrew idea of history as seen in the Books of Kings is a fully-developed, well rounded concept. But it can be claimed that later Hebrew-Christian development of the doctrine of history is properly based on what is recorded in the Books of Kings in elementary fashion. The circular or cyclical view of history has certain elements of

truth in it. History also sometimes appears to move in a straight line, and at other times in a zigzag line. The personal struggle of supernatural beings for mastery over the soul of man on the world-stage is also evident in history. But the Hebrew insight seems both to go beyond all of these, and to go deeper than all of these. If one were asked for another picture that would most completely comprehend all the facts of history, a picture which would represent most accurately the Hebrew Concept of History as seen in elementary fashion in the Books of Kings, the picture of a river might be suggested. History flows like a river, ever getting wider, now and then obstructed or diverted, now flowing quietly between pleasant banks, now rushing rapidly over the falls of God's judgement, but always rolling on irresistibly to a certain end, the judgement of God, before whom every individual and every nation is accountable. God's judgement is not withheld either from an autocracy or a democracy, just because it is an autocracy or a democracy. God's judgement is not withheld either from an Ahab who respects the rights of private ownership of property or from a Jezebel who has no such respect, for both of them sin in taking the life of Naboth. Capitalism and communism are both subject to God's judgement. God is sovereign over all social and political and economic systems, and He judges men and nations by the processes of history. In this view of history the interest is in the individual as well as in the universal.

The individual has universal significance. The insignificant strip of territory, Palestine, has universal significance. What happened to the insignificant people who lived there between the time of Solomon and the Exile can happen to any people, and will happen to them. God individualizes. He is not prodigal with the individual and careful of the species. He is careful of the individual. Much space is given in the Books of Kings to stories of the individual lives of kings and prophets, but not only kings and prophets, also ordinary people, the widow of the seminary student, the Shunammite woman, Naaman, and Gehazi. Revelation is bound up with the history of individuals and nations. Jehovah is more than a God of Nature; He is a God of History. He is to be remembered chiefly not for making the ground fertile and for giving children, but for historical deliverance from Egypt and for His acts in history, of both salvation and judgement. If all other means of lifting His people out of idolatry fail, He will at last both judge and purify them through deliverance into the hand of their enemies. The moral judgement overrides all. Exile stands at the end of the road for His people who will not give up their idols and do justice to their neighbours.

The uniqueness of this Hebrew concept of history becomes all the more impressive when one recalls the cultural and religious background in which it was developed. Archaeology has now shown that Abraham, more than four hundred years before the Exodus, was not a simple-minded nomad, that the civilization from which he came in Chaldea was highly organized, and that

he interacted with a highly developed religion before he received his call from Jehovah. Hebrew backgrounds are being pushed not only backward in time, but also outward in geographical limitations. The Hammurabic Code, discovered in 1902, revealed the existence in the ancient world of a comprehensive jurisprudence antedating the Mosaic Law and probably contemporary with Abraham. It seemed to indicate that early Hebrew law need not have been merely the customs of a nomadic people. The discovery of Mohenjo-daro and a few other ancient sites in the Indus River Valley has proved the existence of a highly developed civilization in India about the time of Abraham. People of that area built cities with beautiful streets, perpendicular to each other, developed an excellent system of drainage, wove cotton cloth as fine as any that can be produced today, and used copper vessels.

Moses arose at a time in Egypt when the religion was a complex and highly developed system. The first Egyptian monotheistic reformer, Pharaoh Akh-en-Aton, was born in 1396 B.C., which, according to the view taken here, would place his far-reaching reforms of Egyptian polytheism in the century following the Exodus of the Hebrews under Moses. While there is no evidence of any direct connection between the monotheism of Moses and that of Akh-en-Aton, scholars have often wondered about the possibility of a relation. The Tel-el-Amarna Tablets have made it reasonably clear, along with other evidences, that the Exodus was around 1440 B.C. and the Entrance into Canaan around 1400 B.C. Thus Moses would be contemporary with Amenhotep III and Queen Hatshepsut, and this 'Hattie Sue' may probably have been the one who drew Moses out of the waters of the Nile. Moses, being trained in all the arts and wisdom of the Egyptians, had the very best intellectual preparation for receiving the revelation given on Mount Sinai and for developing the whole system for the governance of the personal, community, and national life of the Jews. His cultural and religious background provided an excellent framework within which the whole monotheistic system of the Jews could be expounded.

Archaeology and anthropology have also shown three things of importance in the study of the early life of the Hebrews: (1) The religious practices and beliefs of a primitive people are not always simple; they have their complexities. (2) Some primitive peoples are monotheistic. Some of our Primitive Contemporaries (to borrow the phrase used for the title of Murdock's book on the customs and habits of primitive people found in existence in the twentieth century) are monotheistic. Monotheism is not a unique characteristic found at the end of a long stage of development. It may be found at the beginning, among primitive peoples. (3) Hebrew religion from the beginning interacted with other highly developed religions of South-West Asia, from Babylon to Egypt. It was not a simple thing developed in a vacuum.

Most significant among the elements of Canaanite worship and the popular religion of the Hebrews is the figurine of the fertility goddess. These figurines are not found in Israelite sites of the period of the Judges, although they were popular in the Canaanite cities of that age. The Hebrews, it seems, had not yet yielded to the allurements of the fertility cult of their neighbours by the time of the Judges. But, by the period of the Monarchy, that is, of the Books of the Kings, several types of fertility goddess figurines became common in all the cities of Israel. Every Israelite house apparently had one or more of these figurines, according to archaeological finds. A widespread belief in these fertility goddesses is indicated among the masses during this period. In other words, the trend of popular religion was downward instead of upward.

W. Robertson Smith was first attracted to his tremendous studies, which eventuated in his great work, *The Religion of Semites*, by his belief that in this area of South-West Asia would be found a true and typical example of man's religion in general apart from a revelation in history. It is of importance to us in India that archaeology and anthropology are bringing innumerable facts to light to support this belief, to show that in spite of racial, linguistic, economic, and other differences all of these people seem to have shared a certain common idea of religion, and to indicate that the religious and cultural life of ancient South-West Asia including Palestine was strongly similar to the religious and cultural life of India as known through the past two centuries.

In an environment where the God of Nature was supreme, the Hebrews developed a unique concept in which God was seen to both judge and save men within history. We cannot but ask how this happened, and we shall not be far wrong if we say that it was the prophets of Israel who were mainly responsible for this development. The prophets were writers not only of prophecies in the literal sense, but also in the broader sense of writing history from the prophetic point of view. The Books of Chronicles name seven prophets who wrote history, and to whose writings recourse was had in the compilation of those books: namely, Samuel, Nathan, Gad, Shemaiah, Jehu, Ahijah, and Iddo (1 Chron. 29:29; 2 Chron. 9:29; 12:15; 13:22; 20:34; 32:32). Isaiah is also named as one of the prophets who wrote history from the prophetic point of view (1 Chron. 26:22). It seems likely that each prophet wrote the annals of the kings who reigned during his time, that later under the superintendence of Jeremiah all of these were studied together with the official annals of the kingdom, and from this study the Books of Kings were compiled. The Jews put the Books of Kings in the section of their Scriptures with the Prophets, probably because they regarded these books as having been written from the point of view of the prophets and under the superintendence of the prophets. These historical books serve to complement and to

furnish the necessary background for the understanding of the prophetic books. In these historical books the prophets drew well-known illustrations from the nation's history and from the lives of its heroes and leaders, in order to impart great moral lessons ; and at the same time, more significantly, they were laying the foundation for the development of the unique Hebrew concept of history. The revelation of a righteous God both judging and saving men in history was first comprehended by the Hebrews and is their unique contribution to the world of religious thought.



THE TEMPLE IN THE HEART

*In my heart and in my home,
When in my busy mart I roam,
Or where civic duties call,
Lo ! Thy temple in them all.*

*Sisters, brothers, round me stand,
Each of them Thy temple grand,
Deeds and thoughts, life's hopes and fears
Beauteous there Thy shrine appears.*

*Profit, loss, success, defeat,
Weal or woe—Thy radiant seat.
Memories past and future raise
Lovely temples to Thy praise.*

*Father, what Thou once hath shown,
Mysteries before unknown,
May they never from me pass,
Still unfolding, so says Dās.*

The Self and the Spirit

PETER MAY

(A paper read to the staffs of Bishop's College and Serampore College in July, 1957)

In the Sanskrit, Hindi and Bengali Bibles the normal translation of the Hebrew word *ruach* and the Greek word *pneuma* (translated in English by *spirit*) is *ātmā*; this translation suggests that *ruach* and *pneuma* in the Biblical writings and *ātmā* in the Upanisads are identical in meaning.¹ This paper is an attempt to examine the relationships between the three words.

I

BREATH AND WIND

We must begin our discussion by noting that the peoples of all the four great languages of the ancient world, Greek, Latin, Hebrew and Sanscrit, regarded breath as the vital element in man, as that within man without which he cannot live; the reasons for this are obvious, for as man's breathing gets feebler and feebler his life ebbs away. The words used for this vital breath vary in the different languages; in Hebrew it is sometimes (pre-exilic) *neshamah* as in Genesis 2:7: And the Lord God . . . breathed into man the breath of life; and it is sometimes (post-exilic) *ruach* as in Genesis 6:17: All flesh wherein is the breath of life; in Greek it is either *pnōe* (as in Genesis 2:7) or *pneuma* (as in Genesis 6:17); in the R̥g. Veda two words are used to express this idea of vital breath; *ātmā* and *prāna*. One of the meanings of *ātmā* in the R̥g Veda is vital breath, as for example R̥g. Veda I.73.2: The truthful one has become dear like the *breath of life* and worthy to be searched for. In the Upanisads *prāna* is the normal word for the breath of life; and *ātmā* has there its more technical meaning of the self.

It is but natural that breath and wind should be associated together; and both Hebrew and Sanscrit writers use the same word to express both. In both the R̥g Veda and the Old Testament wind (*ruach*, *ātmā*, *pneuma*) was regarded as the breath of God (the gods). So in the R̥g Veda in hymns to Vāta or Vāyu the Wind God, we find the wind described as follows: the *breath of*

¹ Where *ātmā*, *ruach* or *pneuma* occur in the original, I have italicized in this paper.

the Gods, the germ (*garbha*) of the world that God moves wherever he listeth (Ṛg Veda X.168.4) ; thy *spirit* is wind (Ṛg Veda VIII.87.2).

In the Old Testament we are familiar with passages which describe the breath of God as creative ; so Psalm 33:6: By the word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all the host of them by the *breath* of his mouth ; and Job 26:13: By his *spirit* the heavens are garnished ; and the vision of dry bones in Ezekiel 37 need only be mentioned as a further example of the breath, wind (*ruach*, *pneuma*) of God as creative. But in the Old Testament *ruach* and *pneuma* when used of God are not only creative ; they are also destructive ; so II Samuel 22:16: Then the foundations of the world were made bare, by the rebuke of the Lord, at the blast of the *breath* of his nostrils. So far as I can judge *ātmā* was not so used in the Ṛg Veda.

Thus it is possible to say that *ātmā* (in the Ṛg Veda) and *ruach* and *pneuma* are very similar at some points ; they can all mean the breath of life ; they can all mean wind both in itself and as the creative activity of God or the gods. But when we consider the meaning of *ātmā* in the Upanisads we shall find that parallels are few and far between.

II

THE SELF AND THE SPIRIT

If the first stage of our discussion has been concerned with the essential element of physical life, the vital breath, as a gift from God's breath, the second stage is concerned with the essential element of spiritual life. We have to ask: why is it that man is able to enter into a relationship with God, however that relationship is described ? The answer of the Upanisads is that man can enter into a relationship with the Supreme Reality simply because essentially he is one with the Supreme Reality, because *ātmā*, his self, is one with the Supreme Self, *Brahman*. The Biblical answer to our question is that man can enter into a relationship with God not only because God has made him capable of such a relationship but also because He has renewed his capacity for that relationship when it has been blunted. There is a world of difference between these two answers, and our discussion of *ātmā* and *spirit* will help us to understand the difference better.

THE SELF

First let us see the answer of the Upanisads. Man can enter into a relationship with God because essentially he is one with the Supreme Reality. If we ask what is this essential element in man which both transcends and includes all the other elements in man, the Upanisads give us both a negative and a positive answer. Of the many negative attempts to define this essential element in man, probably the most famous is that recorded in Brhad-

Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad IV.1 where King Janaka of Videha submits to the sage Yājñavalkya six different definitions of supreme reality given him by his various teachers, namely speech (*vāk*), vital breath (*prāṇa*), the eye (*cakṣu*), the ear (*śrotra*), the mind (*manas*) and the heart (*hrdaya*). To each of these definitions Yājñavalkya answers: This Brahma is only one-footed; thus indicating that these are inadequate definitions of Brahma. An even fuller account of the enquiry into the nature of the essential self is to be found in Chāndogya Upaniṣad VII.1. Here Sanat-kumāra instructs Nārada in the nature of the essential self, by progressively revealing the inadequacies of the different elements in man's make-up, until there is nothing left but the self.

If we ask more positively where this essential self is to be found, it is said to be located within the smaller ventricle of the heart; this is not of course a literal location but an analogical one, indicating that, in the words of Chāndogya Upaniṣad VIII. 1: Now here in this city of Brahma is an abode, a small lotus flower; within it is a small place. What is within that should be sought, for that assuredly is what one should desire to understand. Yet this essential self is to be identified with the Supreme Self: This is my *self* within the heart (*hrdaya*), smaller than a grain of rice, than a barley corn, than a mustard seed, than a grain of millet, or than the kernel of a grain of millet. This is *myself* within the heart, greater than the earth, greater than the atmosphere, greater than the sky, greater than these worlds, containing all works, containing all desires, containing all odours, containing all tastes, encompassing this whole world, without speech, without concern, this is the *self* of mine within the heart, this is Brahma (Chāndogya Upaniṣad III.14.3 & 4); this is the well-known Sāṇḍilya Vidya which affirms the oneness of the individual self and the Supreme Self, a oneness that is affirmed even more precisely in such phrases as *Tat tvam asi* (Chāndogya Upaniṣad VI.8.7), *Aham Brahma asmi* (Bṛhad Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad I.4.10) and in the less familiar phrase from Jābāla Upaniṣad: I am thou, O great God, and thou art I (*Tvam vā aham asmi bhagavo devate aham vā tvam asi*; quoted by Dr. Radhakrishnan, *The Principal Upaniṣads*).

THE SPIRIT OF MAN

Let us now turn to the Biblical answer to our question: why is it that man can enter into a relationship with God? There are two positions which are not held by the Biblical writers. First they are emphatic that there is no question of man being essentially one with God; God is spirit and man is flesh (as the narrative of Genesis 6:1-4 shows quite clearly); man is a created being, dependent upon God for his very existence. Identity of the essential self of man, whether it be described as spirit, or as soul, with God is impossible for the Biblical writers. Secondly, and to my mind equally impossible, is the idea that the relation-

ship between God and man is an entirely passive one on man's side; one of the effects of the thinking of the Reformation, influenced by Augustine, has been so to stress the idea of *sola gratia* that man seems to play no part whatever in the work of redemption. There surely must be an upward reach of the spirit of man as well as a downward reach of the Spirit of God, if the relationship between man and God is to be a real relationship of sons to the heavenly Father and not one of mere automata moving at the capricious hand of the switch-operator.

The Biblical answer to the question: why is it that man can enter into a relationship with God? is that man can enter into such a relationship with God because God created him as capable of such a relationship. Two Biblical ideas in particular confirm this:

1. The description in Genesis 1:26-27, 5:1-3 and 9:5-6 of man as 'made in the image of God'. We are not concerned here with the vast amount of erudition which has been shown in expounding this conception. Perhaps two things stand out here that are relevant to our discussion. If we lay stress on the word 'made', we shall realize that the phrase asserts man's natural dependence as a created being on God as creator. This dependence he shares with all living creatures. If we lay stress on the phrase 'in the image of God', the least that we can assert is that man is made with a capacity to respond to God; in Kraemer's words: 'God gives to this being a commission, a mandate, that is: He speaks to him, He treats him as a partner, nothing more, nothing less' (*Religion and the Christian Faith*, p. 249). None the less we have to add: the Fall has blunted man's capacity to respond to God in that personal relationship for which man was made, but it is a blunted capacity, not an obliterated capacity.

2. A study of Biblical psychology, such as for example that undertaken by Wheeler Robinson in *Record and Revelation*, reminds us that 'the Hebrew idea of personality is an animated body, and not an incarnated soul' (*Record and Revelation*, p. 362). This means that man is thought of as a unity and that the use of terms like soul (*nephesh*, *psyche*), spirit (*ruach*, *pneuma*) and heart (*leb*, *kardia*) indicates not merely a particular element in man's make-up but the whole self acting or thinking or willing or feeling. Of these terms, only one here is relevant to our purpose, namely *ruach* or *pneuma*.

Wheeler Robinson finds no less than 74 instances of *ruach* being used in the Old Testament to mean, in his words, 'the permanent sub-stratum or entity of man's own consciousness' (op. cit., p. 360). Of these seventy-four instances he notes that there is no clear or well-supported example in pre-exilic usage; here normally 'spirit' is associated with God. He goes on to infer from this that since spirit in the pre-exilic writings refers generally to God, acting with energy and power, the phrase 'the spirit of man' always suggests 'a higher conception of the life of man, as drawn from God' (p. 361). In other words, 'the spirit

of man' in the Old Testament does not suggest in any sense identity or oneness with God, but rather dependence upon Him as a created being for the ordinary activities of life. So Psalm 104:29-30: Thou takest away their *breath* they die . . . Thou sendest forth thy *spirit* they are created.

There is however another side to the usage of *ruach* in the Old Testament. Niebuhr claims that *ruach* gradually became 'the more specific designation of man's relation to God, in distinction to *nephesh* which achieves a connotation identical with soul or psyche, or the life-principle in man' (*The Nature and Destiny of Man*, I, p. 162). This would seem to go a bit further than the Old Testament evidence suggests, and generally speaking 'the spirit of man' would appear to mean no more than 'the active and determining man' (Snaith, *The Distinctive Ideas of the Old Testament*, p. 149), 'the centre of man's thoughts, purposes, and moods' (Eichrodt, cited in Hendry, *The Holy Spirit in Christian Theology*, p. 105), 'the self regarded as conscious or aware', 'the willing and knowing self' (Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, I, p. 207). All these different definitions indicate that when the Bible speaks of the spirit of man it does not mean particularly man in his relation to God, but rather that man is free to act and plan and think and purpose, and that this freedom may be used for God or against God, with God or without God. Yet again however we have to remember that this freedom to respond to God in relationship is a freedom that has been cramped and limited and is virtually not freedom at all but slavery because man is fallen and a sinner.

Thus while the Upanisads understand relationship with the Supreme Reality to be possible because man is essentially one with Supreme Reality, the Biblical writers understand a relationship with God to be possible because God made man in His own image and made him capable of such a relationship with Him, though that image and capacity have been marred and blunted by the fall and man's sinfulness.

THE BODY

Wheeler Robinson's definition of man as being 'an animated body, and not an incarnated soul', suggests a further contrast between *ātmā* and *spirit*. We have already seen that in Biblical thinking man is thought of as a unity and that the use of different parts of the body in the Bible indicate not so much the separate parts of a man as the whole man acting in a particular way; in fact there is no word for body in Hebrew; in Wheeler Robinson's words: 'it never needed one so long as the body was the man' (p. 366). To speak of the spirit of man in the Bible is not to speak of a distinctive element in the body or of a contrast between spirit and flesh in the body or of a dichotomy of body and soul or of a trichotomy of body, soul and spirit. But when we ask what is the relationship between the *ātmā*, the self,

and the physical body, the Upanisads give us several answers. The *ātmā* is encased in the body as an active principle ; thus the Kauṣītakī Upanisad says : Just as a razor might be hidden in a razor-case or as fire in a fireplace, even so this *self* of intelligence (*prajñātmā*) has entered this bodily *self* to the very hairs and nails (IV.20) ; Śākāyanya in the Maitrī Upanisad declares : This body is like a cart without intelligence . . . who is its mover ? He who is reputed as standing aloof amidst qualities, like those of vigorous chastity, he indeed is pure, clean, void, tranquil, breathless, mindless, endless, undecaying, steadfast, eternal, unborn, independent. He abides in his own greatness . . . this one, verily, is its driver (II.3, 4) ; and in the Katha Upanisad we have the famous picture of the chariot : Know the *Self* as the lord of the chariot, and the body (*śarīra*) as, verily, the chariot, know the intellect (*buddhi*) as the charioteer and the mind (*manas*) as, verily, the reins. The senses (*indriyāni*), they say, are the horses ; the objects of sense the paths they range over ; the *self* associated with the body, the senses and the mind—wise men declare—is the enjoyer (I.3.3-4). All these passages in the Upanisads show that *ātmā* is regarded not as the body or person as a whole, but as a principle which pervades and activates the body, a conception which is quite different from that of the spirit in man, according to the Bible.

III

The next question which we have to answer from the Upanisads and the Bible is : granted that man is in a relationship to God or is capable of entering such a relationship, how is that relationship realized or established ? The answer of the Upanisads is clear : the individual self must realize its oneness and identity with the Supreme Self ; self-realization is here the key-word.

THE SELF AND THE SUPREME SELF

The Upanisads give us many analyses of the way in which this self-realization takes place. Probably the best known is that in the Māṇḍūkya Upanisad where the different stages of the individual's self-realization are likened to :

- (a) The waking state (*vaiṣvānara*). Radhakrishnan's comment on this is : 'The waking state is the normal condition of the natural man, who without reflection accepts the universe as he finds it' (*The Principal Upanisads*, p. 695). The Biblical parallel here would seem to be the whole person engaged in activities of the flesh and living in 'the whole sphere of that which is earthly or natural' (Rom. 2:28f.), merely animal life.
- (b) The dream-state (*taijasa*). Here we are concerned with consciousness not just of the external natural

world, but with that of mental states as well. Here the Biblical parallels would seem to be both the sphere of the *psyche*, the full human life of a man who has not just biological but human needs as well (I Cor. 2:14), and the sphere of the *pneuma* or *nous*, where the stress is on a person planning and knowing and conscious, capable of distinguishing between good and evil.

- (c) The state of deep sleep (*prajña*). Here the distinction between object and subject, between knowledge and the thing known, which still existed in the previous states, has disappeared; and only knowledge and bliss remain.

Yet the self is still the self even though one with the supreme self; so the Upanisad posits a fourth state, the unconditioned state of *ātmā*, known as *turiya* (the fourth). These four stages in the self's self-realization are described in Maitrī Upanisad as follows: He who sees with the eye, who moves in dreams, who is sound asleep and he who is beyond the sound sleeper, these are a person's four distinct conditions (Maitrī Upanisad VII.11). A somewhat similar discussion of the different stages of self-realization is to be found in Taittirīya Upanisad III.10.5 where we read of the five envelopes (*kosa*) of the self.

How are these gradual stages of self-realization achieved? Bṛhad Aranyaka Upanisad tells us: Therefore he . . . having become calm, self-controlled, withdrawn, patient and collected sees *the Self* in his own *self*, sees all in the *Self* (IV.4.23). The emphasis throughout the Upanisads is on intellectual and moral and spiritual discipline as the means by which the individual self may realize his identity and oneness with the Supreme Self. In Radhakrishnan's words: 'an ordered disciplined training of all our powers, a change of mind, heart and will is demanded' (*The Principal Upanisads*, p. 102). It is true that there are passages in the Upanisads which suggest that self-realization is a gift from the Supreme Self: so Katha Upanisad I.2.23: This *self* cannot be attained by instruction, nor by intellectual power, nor even through much learning. He is to be attained only by the one whom (the self) chooses. To such a one the *self* reveals his own nature (cf. Mundaka Upanisad III.2.3). But such passages are rare and the emphasis undoubtedly is on the efforts of the individual, whether it be the way of knowledge (*jñāna*) or the way of physical austerities (*tapas*) or the way of mental concentration and self-discipline (*yoga*).

THE SPIRIT OF MAN AND THE SPIRIT OF GOD

Let us now ask our question from the Bible: granted that man is capable of entering into a relationship with God, how is that relationship to be established? There are several points of importance here:

1. In describing man as a being in whom is spirit the Bible maintains that man was made capable of being in a relationship with God, but that this capacity has been blunted by the fall. In Hendry's words: 'Spirit in sinful man becomes the principle of his *lost* relation to God' (*The Holy Spirit in Christian Theology*, p. 115).

2. The emphasis throughout the Bible is on the Spirit of God acting creatively and with power, sometimes almost so compulsively that strong men like Samson, judges like Gideon, prophets like Ezekiel, are led to act far beyond their ordinary natural powers. This emphasis indicates that in Biblical thinking if man is to regain his capacity to live in a true relationship with God, it can only be when the Spirit of God re-creates and renews that capacity in him; thus in Isaiah 11:2ff. the Spirit of the Lord resting upon the shoot of the stock of Jesse is the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and fear of the Lord; and it is this Spirit which enables him to act and deal righteously. It is the Spirit of the Lord put upon the Servant of the Lord which enables him to bring forth judgement to the Gentiles (so Isaiah 42:1; cf. Isaiah 61:1ff.). Re-creation of both the land and of man in general depends on the creative spirit of God (Isaiah 44:3; 32:15; Ezekiel 37); but this re-creation by God's spirit has to be prefaced by a cleansing of man and a removal of the hardness of his heart; so Ezekiel 36:25-27: I will sprinkle clean water upon you and ye shall be clean; from all your filthiness, and from all your idols, will I cleanse you. A new heart also will I give you, and a new *spirit* will I put within you; and I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and I will give you a heart of flesh. And I will put my *spirit* within you, and cause you to walk in my statutes . . . and ye shall be my people and I will be your God (cf. Ezekiel 11:19; Joel 2:28f.). So also Psalm 51:11: Create in me a clean heart, O God; and renew a right *spirit* within me.

3. Further, so far from the concept of self-realization is Biblical thinking that, if the Spirit of God is so to cleanse and recreate man's spirit, man has to acknowledge his own poverty of spirit; so Psalm 51:17: The sacrifices of God are a broken *spirit*; a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise (cf. Isaiah 57:15).

4. Of the titles which are given to Jesus Christ in the New Testament, three are particularly relevant for our purpose here: He is called the second Adam in Romans 5:12-20 and in 1 Corinthians 15:22, 45, and some scholars have found a reference to Him as the second Adam in Philippians 2:5-11; He is called the Image of God in 2 Corinthians 4:4 and Colossians 1:15. Both these titles indicate that He was regarded by our New Testament writers as perfect man, but His perfection lay in the relationship with God His Father which His every word and deed indicated. But He is also called the Messiah, of whose

characteristic mark it is that the Spirit of God rests upon him (Isaiah 11:2; 61.1ff.); although references to the Spirit of God in connection with Jesus are rare in the Gospels 'in each case the word *pneuma* as the Evangelists use it points to their central interest in the Messianic dignity of Jesus . . . Jesus was the Messiah; as such He was the bearer of the Spirit' (Barrett, *The Holy Spirit and the Gospel Tradition*, p. 120).

Scripturally therefore the relationship between man and God of which we have been speaking throughout is perfectly exemplified in Jesus Christ; the downward reach of the Spirit of God and the upward reach of the spirit of man find perfection in Christ.

5. But the whole New Testament tradition is not just that in Christ the Father-Son relationship was perfectly exemplified, but that through His death and resurrection there was both a cleansing of man and a release of the Spirit of God. Such a passage as Galatians 4:4ff. is sufficient to prove this, though many others could be found to substantiate the statement: When the fulness of the time came, God sent forth His son, born of a woman, born under the law, that he might redeem them which were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons. And because ye are sons, God sent forth the *Spirit* of His Son into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father. So that thou art no longer a bondservant, but a son; and if a son, then an heir through God (cf. also Romans 8:15f.; 1 Corinthians 6:11; Titus 3:5f.; Romans 5:5ff.).

Thus for the Biblical writers the relationship with God for which man had been made and from which the fall had barred him has been re-established by the death and resurrection of Christ and the release of the Holy Spirit of Pentecost; and it is only as a man relates himself or is related by God to these evangelical events that he can know the Father-Son relationship with God for which he was originally made. This is clearly something quite different from the self-realization of the Upanisads.

IV

So far we have considered what we may call the conditioned states of *ātmā* as we find them described in the Upanisads, and the relationship between God and man as indicated by the use of the word Spirit in the Bible. We have now to come to the unconditioned state of *ātmā*, what is called *paramātmā*, and to the Biblical affirmation that God is Spirit (John 4:24). There is no doubt much that should be said here, but we must be content to indicate briefly the main differences.

THE SUPREME SELF

When we discussed self-realization, we drew attention to the fact that the Māṇḍūkya Upanisad (and many other Upanisads)

spoke of the fourth State (*Turiya*) ; the Upanisad reads as follows : *Turiya* is not that which cognizes the internal objects, not that which cognizes the external objects, not what cognizes both of them, not a mass of cognition, not cognitive, not non-cognitive. It is unseen, incapable of being spoken of, ungraspable, without any distinctive marks, unthinkable, unnameable, the essence of the knowledge of the one *self*, that into which the world is resolved, the peaceful, the benign, the non-dual . . . He is the *self* (Māṇḍūkya Upanisad VII). Here everything that is said about the unconditioned *ātmā* is expressed in the negative, hence the state is called 'the Fourth' since there is no other way of characterizing it, except *neti neti ātmā*.

GOD AS SPIRIT

There could be hardly anything more different from this conception of *ātmā* than the description in the Bible of God as Spirit. When we ask what the Bible means when it says, 'God is Spirit', we shall notice first that there is a contrast implied in the phrase between God and man. In Isaiah 31:3 this contrast is particularly well brought out: Now the Egyptians are men, and not God ; and their horses are flesh and not *spirit* ; and when the Lord shall stretch out his hand, both he that helpeth shall stumble, and he that is holpen shall fall and they all shall fall together ; to quote Dodd on this passage: 'For Hebraic writers the contrast is not so much one of substance (*ousia*), but rather of power and its opposite. God is known as *ruach* because He exhibits His irresistible and mysterious power, as the "living" God, while human flesh is feeble, powerless, the victim of natural processes' (Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*, p. 224). He goes on, speaking about John 4:24: 'John defines deity as *pneuma* . . . *Pneuma* denotes reality, or absolute being . . . But it is reality as living, powerful and life-giving, in contrast to the powerless *sarx* . . . The only way for man to rise from the lower life to the higher is by being born *ek pneumatos*, which is also to be born *ek tou theou*. This re-birth is made possible through the descent of the Son of Man' (op. cit., p. 226). For the Bible, to give life is the characteristic mark of the Spirit (John 6:63 ; Romans 8:10, 11 ; 1 Corinthians 15:45 ; 2 Corinthians 3:6) ; and for the Christian: This is life eternal, that they should know thee the only true God, and him whom thou didst send, even Jesus Christ (John 17:3). When the Bible speaks of God as Spirit, it means that God is One who gives life, and this life-giving is through Jesus Christ in the Holy Spirit.

This radical difference between the Upanisadic concept of Brahma as *ātmā* and the Biblical concept of God as Spirit suggests that even the one point of contact between the two approaches has been removed. For convenience' sake we have been speaking about the way in which the relationship between God, or the Supreme Reality, and man is considered in the

Upanisads and in the Bible. It may surely be doubted whether any one phrase like relationship between man and the Supreme Reality can blanket such completely different conceptions as oneness with the Absolute and adoption into the sonship of the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

V

What conclusions then can we draw from such a study as this? First it will have become increasingly clear as we have progressed in the argument that we have been moving in two circles which do not appear at any moment to touch each other, or perhaps, more accurately, along two lines which though apparently starting from the same point (as breath of life) go off at an angle and move further and further away from each other. The fact is of course that we are dealing with two different religions, the religion of the Upanisads and the religion of the Bible, and in the light of what we have seen it is impossible to say that they say the same thing. *Ātmā* means the essential self which is one with the Supreme Self; spirit in the Bible means dependence upon God and a capacity to enter into a relationship with Him. Oneness with the Supreme Self is realized in the Upanisads largely through mental and physical disciplines; in the Bible the relationship for which man was made but from which he has fallen is re-established through the loving activity of God in the sending of the Christ and the gift of the Holy Spirit. The conception of the Supreme Self in the Upanisads is super-personal and primarily negative; nothing could be more personal and positive than the conception of the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ in the Bible.

Secondly it follows that when the Hindu who is versed in the Upanisads comes to read the Christian Scriptures he will carry over into his understanding of them meanings which spirit (*ruach* and *pneuma*) does not and cannot bear. It is therefore imperative that translations of the Scriptures into the Sanscritic languages of India should make some attempt to help him to a truer understanding. Over a hundred years ago Dr. Mill, the first Principal of Bishop's College, proposed the use of *sadātma* 'which can denote no less than the Eternal Spirit of Purity and Truth while it thus points more explicitly to the third Person of the Trinity than if *paramātmā* were used'. A modern translation of the Acts of the Apostles in Bengali (by Father Fallon, S.J.) uses *param ātmā* for the Holy Spirit throughout, and *ātmā* (in Acts 7:59) and *prānaman* (in Acts 17:16) for the spirit of man.

Thirdly our study might suggest that there is no point of contact between the religion of the Upanisads and the religion of the Bible; this would be an erroneous conclusion, for not only are there indications of a more personal kind of religion in the Upanisads themselves, but also it is extremely doubtful whether

the most ardent devotee of the Upanisads has such an impersonal religion as our study of the Upanisads suggests. As a previous writer in *The Indian Journal of Theology* has said: 'Sankara's beautiful and majestic prose and his still more beautiful poetry convince us that religious instincts are inherent in human nature and brook no suppression' (Ashananda Nag in *The Indian Journal of Theology*, Volume IV, Number 1). It is to the man of religious instincts that the Bible speaks.

(All passages from the Upanisads are according to the translation offered by Dr. Radhakrishnan in The Principal Upanisads, published by George Allen and Unwin in 1953.)



MY MOTHERLAND

*Thrice blessed is thy womb, my Motherland,
Whence mighty rishis, saints and sages spring!
A Christian I, yet here none taunteth me,
Nor buffeteth with angry questioning.*

*I meet and greet them, and with love embrace :
None saith, 'Thou dost pollute us by thy sin.'
My Guru they delight to venerate ;
They say, 'He is our brother and our kin.'*

*Let no man fancy that I idly prate ;
Such kindness greets me always, everywhere.
Saith Dāsa, O thou peerless Mother mine,
Thy generous sons thy generous heart declare.*

Review Article

AFTER TEN YEARS

FRANK J. KLINE

Dr. Harrison's 'restudy of the problems and progress of Indian theological education'¹ is yet another evidence of the far-reaching influence of the Tambaram Council of 1938.

Ever since Tambaram, people throughout the world have been increasingly conscious of the need and priority of theological education. Dr. Ranson's report of 1945 was a first step in acquainting the churches of India and their friends with the problems of theological education in India. Dr. Harrison at the end of a decade of progress after the Ranson report was asked to restudy the situation and this book is his answer to that request. He says, 'The purpose of the present report is to arrive at general conclusions affecting Indian theological education as a whole, not to give an appraisal of individual schools or colleges.'

In this way Dr. Harrison has limited the scope of the terms of reference under which he is making this study. He thus distinguishes between the functions of a report which he accepts and the function of an accrediting agency which he does not accept as in the terms of reference of this report.

In his first chapter, Dr. Harrison gives abundant evidence of much first-hand acquaintance with certain typical institutions. He lists the large number of schools and colleges visited in connection with the survey, besides the other institutions with which he was previously acquainted during the years of his long service in India. He also notes with appreciation the various sub-committees and the work which they and others did in bringing together the facts out of which this report is offered.

Dr. Harrison then turns to the changing factors in the life of the Indian sub-continent during this last decade which have had a great effect upon the life of the people and the nation as a whole, and surveys the conditions and impact of these influences upon theological education. Political independence, India's new position and relationships as one of the free nations in an increasingly important Asia, and paralleling this, the growth of church union both in South and North India have been noted as having

¹ *After Ten Years: A Report on Theological Education in India*: by M. H. Harrison. National Christian Council of India, 1957. Price Re.1/00.

particular value and impact upon the study. Together with this are noted certain trends in education, particularly toward a 'new emphasis upon basic education', and the 'syncretistic emphasis in religious life' which trends have had a specific influence upon the potential student body of theological schools and colleges. The three-year degree course in college education with the preparatory pre-university year and the fact of Hindi becoming the official language of India are factors that also must be noted and considered by those who would expect students from Government institutions to present themselves as candidates for theological education. A rather significant interpretation of population factors is made by Dr. Harrison in which he points out the centres of Christian population in the land. This is an important emphasis and should be carefully language-studied and understood by church leaders in terms of its influence upon the location and media of theological education. The fact also that the whole nation is evidencing a rapid trend toward urban residence, due both to the trend toward industrialization and the fact that food has generally been more available in cities, has also to be considered in its influence upon the training of ministers.

Dr. Ranson pointed out the needs of the villages which Dr. Harrison thinks have been somewhat changed due to the above factors. Due emphasis, however, should continue to be made upon the remaining majority in the village and upon the fact that the people who make up these majorities in the cities continue to come from a rural India. All of these various factors have made their contributions to the adequacy (or lack of it) of Christian ministers in the day in which we live. The cumulative effect of what Dr. Harrison has brought to light is an emphasis upon the fact that there are more vacant pulpits in India today than ever before, and the need of training and preparing men for the demands of the Church is increasingly with us. The trained and ordained minister may have to be assisted by the trained and honorary church worker. Some plan for the fulfilment of this, as Dr. Harrison says, 'deserves to be seriously considered'. A final word on the increased responsibility to the Indian Church concludes the second chapter of the report.

Chapter III of Dr. Harrison's report is the heart of his study and deserves to be more carefully reviewed than is practical here, and to be thoroughly understood by everyone who is interested in theological education in India. He has very carefully considered the terminology that is used in classifying existing institutions, calling attention to the fact that terminology, though it may not be universally accepted, nevertheless very well serves the purpose of helping us to understand the function and purpose of each of the institutions in the land. In this area of understanding the nature of the various institutions and their functions and relationship to each other, this report makes a real contribution. Dr. Harrison has very carefully listed for us both the specialized

institutions, some of which have grown up since Ranson's report, and the theological colleges, the theological schools, and other institutions, a number of which again are additions since Ranson's report. This statistical report has also included the wives of married students when class-work was provided from them, while this was not the case in the previous tables of Dr. Ranson. The specialized institutions are also given fuller treatment than they were given previously, thus indicating their increased importance. The considerable growth in the number of institutions is noted. Both the increased number of persons engaged in teaching and the increase in student enrolment in theological institutions are shown. All of these points are evidence of the fact that the Church in India has responded to the call of its own need. Certain trends, however, are not as healthy as the institutions involved would no doubt wish. Particularly is this so in the balance between eastern and western members of staff. There is a disappointing lack of progress in Indianization and a predominance of foreign staff which, now clearly witnessed before us, should be very carefully considered and as rapidly as possible corrected. Also, the qualifications of theological teachers have been carefully reviewed. This again gives further evidence of the need for sincere self-evaluation on the part of the schools involved.

The approved functions of theological schools and colleges on the basis of which a self-evaluation may be made are very carefully considered in terms of both the Dornikal conference and of a study of curriculum, teaching method, institutional life, diplomas, degrees and accreditation.

An encouraging chart indicating a comparison of the number of recipients of Serampore degrees and diplomas for the last forty-two years since the Senate began serving the Church in India shows a very healthy development both in the B.D. and the L.Th. departments. Over the last twelve years there have been two-thirds as many B.D.s granted as in the first thirty years, and in the case of the L.Th. the increase is even greater. Mention is also made of the growth in the number of services offered by a group of other institutions. These other institutions, not now related to Serampore, are offering to prepare students for theological distinctions granted by the association of churches represented in their own governing bodies, with only the legal protection of a registration under the 1860 Societies Act. In both instances the increased services and the larger number of students are indications of the ministries of theological training to the Church, and also of the growth of the Church itself.

The duplication of courses and the various means and methods of giving the recognitions granted, however, call attention to the definite need in the theological world in India, as Dr. Harrison continues, for the 'standardization of the meaning of such letters as G.Th.' as well as for all diplomas and degrees in other theological usages in India today. He calls attention to

the work of a number of all-India co-ordinating bodies and among them notes the efforts that have been made toward the establishment of an accrediting agency. Such an agency, he says, 'would have the functions of fixing the connotations of the various distinctions offered, of assessing the facilities available at each institution which wished to avail itself of this arrangement, and of declaring whether the institution was competent to prepare its students for particular diplomas'. One of the good effects of the Harrison report may be seen already, in that the Serampore Senate has this year appointed a committee for further study of such an all-India accrediting or recognizing association.

Again, Dr. Harrison's Chapter IV on the problem of co-operation in the context of the Church in India is a very helpful review of the present situation in this country. It deserves to be read, studied, and used as a basis of careful self-evaluation, and looks toward the possibility of more co-operative activity among the various institutions that are serving the Church in the training of the ministry.

Dr. Harrison in his final chapter on recommendations has very carefully addressed himself to the problem of the united regional theological schools, then to the theological schools whether regional and united or not, then to the theological colleges, and finally to the matter of degrees, diplomas, libraries, advanced studies and finances involved in each and every type of institution. Some may find the most valuable part of this report in this chapter. It is *succinctly* given in the very worthwhile statement by Dr. Harrison—after his long study—on when a theological school or college may be considered adequate. Again, an encouraging word, and one showing real appreciation of Dr. Harrison, and the Board of Theological Education comes from the fact that already some of the recommendations of this report are bearing fruit. The question of a united regional theological school in the Hindi area in North India has already been carefully reconsidered and a proposed solution is even now being brought to the attention of the churches. Dr. Harrison is to be commended upon the careful and thorough survey which he has carried out; for the very high type of objective research ability evidenced in his study; and for the various recommendations for the many varied institutions and situations surveyed. It is to be hoped that this type of work will be continued in relation to the Bible schools, since this is an area that has been discussed for many years and yet is only beginning to be considered carefully by those interested in theological education in all of India.

Book Reviews

The Christian World Mission: by Dr. R. Pierce Beaver, MA., Ph.D., Baptist Mission Press, 41a Lower Circular Road, Calcutta 16. Price Re.1/25.

This book contains the William Carey Lecture for 1957 which was delivered at Serampore during January 1957 by Dr. Beaver, Professor of Missions and Director of Centre for the Study of the Christian World Mission, Federated Theological Faculty, University of Chicago. It is an able and masterly introduction to the vast and complex subject: the reconsideration of the nature, motivation, objectives, principles and methods of the world mission.

Dr. Beaver divides his lecture into two parts. Part I deals with the external and internal factors necessitating a reconsideration of *The Christian World Mission*. This contains a most careful and clear analysis of the present situation pointing out: (1) that we are entering upon an age of world missions wherein many religions are simultaneously engaged in active propagation campaigning for the souls of men; (2) that we are living in an age of social, economic and cultural revolution on a world-wide scale; (3) that there is a world-wide outreach for a larger share for the goods of the world and for human rights; (4) that there is a community of worshipping and witnessing congregations of Christians, be they small or great, all over the world. All these factors call for a thoroughgoing re-appraisal of the nature, objectives and methods of the Mission of the Church as well as the preparation of a new Christian apologetic, bringing out more fully the implications for society of the Lordship of Christ and the Ministry of Reconciliation committed by the Lord to His Church.

In Part II Dr. Beaver deals with the theological task in the present situation, pointing out at the very outset that 'the Apostolate is not the vocation of the office-bearing clergy only, but of the entire Christian community which is intended to be the evangelistic body'. It is for the performance of the Apostolate that God has placed the Church in the world. This Apostolate is discharged by parishes and congregations through the three essential functions of worship, fellowship and proclamation of the Gospel. It is in this section that the parish priest and the minister will find many fruitful suggestions as to how the worshipping, ministering and preaching Church can

witness to and experience the Lord's resurrection, dominion and power of His reconciling love.

Calcutta

BASIL MANUEL

Christianity and Economic Problems: by D. L. Munby. Macmillan & Co., 1956. Pp. 290. 25s.

The book begins with a 'short survey of the main doctrines of the Christian faith'. They are, to the author who is an economist, 'the foundation of my thinking'. God the Creator, Man the sinner, the Incarnation of Christ, the Church in the World, the End-event-Starting with these foundation beliefs, the author goes on to develop 'the Christian view of society'. The revelation in Christ of God's purpose for the world is the clue to a true understanding of the nature of man in his relation to the material world, nature and property and of his life in society and State. Munby sums up the theological part of the book thus: 'I have tried to illustrate very briefly and all too dogmatically, how from Christian doctrine about the nature of man we can draw some conclusions about the social ethics appropriate to such a creature. The social principles are general, their application is unsure, they provide no certain guide to a changing world. But they are not entirely useless. And if we can sum them up in any way, it is in the phrase "People matter". If we hold fast to the fact that people matter, and matter, not because of any inherent value we may find in them, but because God made them and saved them, then we will find a clue through the maze of the world.'

From here on, the author attempts to explicate the nature of economics as a science and of the presuppositions underlying the thinking of economists. Surveying the thought of the classical economists, Munby shows clearly how obvious errors were introduced into economic science by their utilitarian, individualistic and rationalist presuppositions. He says: 'It is dangerous to belittle the triumphs of the industrial system as it developed under the guise of capitalism. But it would be no less stupid to fail to point out how the economists of the nineteenth century were often blinded to some of its more obvious defects, and how their biased presuppositions hid from their attention facts that were open to all.'

Why could not Christian thinking correct these wrong presuppositions in this period? Munby raises this question and shows how the Christian protest against capitalism did not have much influence on the course of either economic thought or economic life because Christians lacked 'appreciation of many aspects and in particular the economic aspects of the social order, which they rightly criticized'. This inability to grapple with the technical aspects of economic life followed the social thought of the Christian socialists and others like a curse. (Even today a

'major prophet' of the stature of V. A. Demant, says Munby, shows this inability to understand and appreciate the facts of economic life. The author gives in an appendix to the book a critical review of Demant's *Religion and the Decline of Capitalism*. The main burden of the criticism is that the book is based on a misunderstanding of the facts of the modern economic order. One has the feeling that theologically Munby owes a great deal to the Christendom group of Anglican social thinkers against whom he rebels. Perhaps Munby may help the group to realize the creative aspects of industrial expansion and thus save its thinking from becoming more and more irrelevant to the economic realities of a Welfare State. This is by the way.) Even the thinking of the Stockholm, Oxford and Amsterdam ecumenical conferences of this century on economic life has suffered from lack of knowledge of the technical aspects of modern economics.

To sum up. Modern economic thought has suffered on the one hand from the economists' wrong conceptions of man and the world and on the other from the Christians' misunderstanding of the technical aspects of economics in an industrial society. Munby says: 'The experts (the economists) and the prophets (Christian thinkers) unfortunately never or rarely met; neither read each others' works; each failed to get the benefit they could have obtained from the complementary achievement of their colleagues. If experts who fail to see the wood for the trees prove dangerous guides, prophets who do not talk about a real situation produce mere emotional verbiage'. At this point, the reviewer would like to say that if ever the Indian Church is to be able to make its contribution to the social philosophy emerging in modern India, we must take our lesson from this experience of the Church's failure in the past and provide opportunity for down-to-earth experts (economists, sociologists and politicians) to meet with theologians and prophets. This is perhaps *the* task before organizations like the Christian Institute for the Study of Religion and Society. I have digressed.

The rest of Munby's book is a *meeting* of the expert and the theologian in the author. He deals with several particular economic problems which are crucial in the modern world, and shows the relevance of Christian insights in dealing with them. The problems taken up are 'illustrative of the sort of economic issues that will have to be faced and of the kind of relevance Christian insights can provide'. This part is no doubt difficult reading, perhaps both for economists and theologians, especially for theologians. Inevitably so because it is an attempt at a meeting between theology and economics. But theologians who want to relate theology relevantly to economic life and economists who desire to be Christian in their economic thought must grapple with the writing of one who seeks to break the deadlock between the Church and the world, and not without success. Wealth and poverty, full employment and inflation, the price system, the place of the businessman, the workers' organizations,

State action in the economic field, international scene—these indicate the issues that are dealt with. Munby concludes with a statement of Christian principles for modern economic life. Among Christian moralists, statements of Christian principles are easily made without due appreciation of the economic and moral realities of the situation. The statement of Munby is realistic. Certainly it cannot be the final word ; it is, however, a contribution to ecumenical thought on Christian social ethics.

The significance of Munby and his book is enhanced by the fact that he speaks from within the ecumenical movement and represents the best in it. He was a key figure in the Commission on Responsible Society in the Evanston Assembly of the World Council of Churches. And he continues to give a lead to the World Council.

Trivandrum

M. M. THOMAS

Amos : by T. C. Witney, M.A., and B. F. Price, M.A., B.D.
(The Christian Students' Library, No. 10, C.L.S., Post Box 50,
Madras 3. Re.1/12.)

This is an excellent book for theological colleges, better still for those who appear for Serampore degrees as external candidates. Its language is easy and simple. The subject-matter is clear and direct. For its size, the book contains amazingly useful and helpful material by way of background, history and commentary.

Both the authors deserve a mention. The late Rev. T. C. Witney came out to India as a missionary under the London Missionary Society and worked for several years in Salem area. He later joined the staff of the Tamilnad Theological College at Tirumaraiyur. While working there he wrote this book on *Amos*. But before he could revise it, he was called to his eternal reward. The work of revision and bringing it up to date was entrusted to Rev. B. F. Price of Serampore College. Mr. Price is Professor of Old Testament Language and Literature on the staff of Serampore ; as such, he is eminently qualified to do the task. Mrs. Price has added a helpful map of the Holy Land with its neighbouring nations and their chief cities.

The book has three main divisions :—

I. *General Introduction*. I consider this portion useful and important as it acquaints the reader with necessary historical background, thus preparing him to a proper understanding of the prophecy of *Amos*. In fact, this section is packed with useful material which requires careful study and digestion.

II. *Introduction to Amos*. In this section the authors deal with subjects like the authorship of the book of *Amos*, its date and message. They have summed up the message of *Amos* under three subdivisions :—

- (a) Man's Injustice and God's Justice.
- (b) False Gods and True God.
- (c) Man Proposes and God Disposes.

This section closes with an analysis of the book and a chronological table beginning with King David to the fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C.

III. *Commentary.* This forms the final and major portion of the book covering roughly seventy pages out of a total of ninety-eight. Throughout this section, a few verses of the text are printed at the top of each page in heavier type with the relevant commentary below. This makes the study convenient and easy for the reader. It is further made easy as questions of text and interpretation are explained in non-technical language. At the same time, it is made richer by giving references to relevant passages in earlier books of the Old Testament and later writings. Mr. Witney's long acquaintance with the religion and language of the South has well equipped him to explain the message of *Amos* in an Indian setting wherever possible.

The authors have ably brought out the meaning and message of *Amos* not only as it confronted the people of those bygone times, but as it equally applies to us living in this day and generation. The message is a challenge to the Church everywhere for a real introspection. Because of a peculiar coincidence in history and of social upheavals in India at the moment, it becomes urgent for the Church in India to study this book afresh with a new vision so that the Church will be in the forefront of divinely-inspired social reformations in the country.

Though this book was primarily written for students in Theological Colleges, yet it is presented in such a fashion that it will be a great asset to Bible and Sunday School teachers, as well as the private study of the Clergy and Laity.

Avanigadda

C. DEVASAHAYAM

Hebrews—Introduction and Commentary : by A. B. Elliott, M.A., D.D. (The Christian Students' Library, No. 11, C.L.S., Post Box 501, Madras 3. Re.1/75.)

In reviewing any new addition to the books already published in the Christian Students' Library series it is necessary to judge the book on the basis of the purpose that it is intended to fulfil, rather than on any mere estimate of its scholastic soundness. There are no doubt points of exegesis in Bishop Elliott's commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, which some New Testament scholars would wish to challenge, but the present reviewer would not presume to enter into any of these scholastic questions. The author himself has acknowledged his own indebtedness to men who are masters in the field of New Testament scholarship,

and whose works are already available to the student who can read in English.

But what of the class of Bible student for whom this series is primarily intended: the village evangelist, the Biblewoman, the intelligent Indian layman of an urban or rural congregation, the village schoolmaster who perhaps aspires to be a lay preacher? Have we here a book that can be readily translated into the Indian vernaculars and placed in the hands of such people with the sure knowledge that it will meet their need and answer their questions, when they have not always near at hand a teacher at whose feet they can sit?

From some slight experience of seeking to give Biblical introduction and exposition to men and women of this kind our own conviction is that it is hardly an ideal book for this purpose.

In the first place what one looks for in the Introduction to a commentary of this kind is something such as that which Miss Alice Parmelee has produced in 'A Guidebook to the Bible'. Her chapter on the Prophet Amos, for example, begins: 'It was feast day in Bethel, and the city streets were filled with people on their way to the Temple to offer sacrifices'. Here is a vivid picture, which at once captures the attention and kindles the imagination. The reader will read on; and then proceed, with understanding enlightened by the fruits of sound scholarship, to read the book to which he has thus been introduced. This, one must admit, the bare scholastic bones of the introduction to this commentary, however, 'anatomically' sound they may be, will quite fail to do. In our opinion the writer has not succeeded sufficiently in getting away from the theological classroom and out into the village; and that is a pity. It is also a pity that the book has been marred by some careless proof-reading.

In the commentary itself it would have been helpful if each of the main sections had been introduced by a digest of the argument of the whole section. Thus the reader would have been more readily able to keep before him the thread of the thought of the epistle as he went along.

One fears such references as that on page 10 to 'the fancies and falsities of Gnosticism' will be quite incomprehensible to the type of reader we have in mind, when neither in the Introduction nor in the Commentary itself is there any explanation of who the Gnostics were or what they believed.

When all this has been said, however, we do not doubt that the Commentary will be studied with much profit by numbers of people, who will be thankful that it has been produced. Nevertheless there is great doubt as to how many of these will be the kind of people, to meet whose need this series was originally planned. But for this, no doubt, the Editor must bear his due share of the responsibility.

Subjectivity and Paradox—A Study of Kierkegaard—by J. Heywood Thomas. Basil Blackwell. 18s.

The Rev. J. Heywood Thomas will be known to readers of the *Scottish Journal of Theology* through his article on 'Kierkegaard and Existentialism' (December, 1953), and now we have his book *Subjectivity and Paradox—A Study of Kierkegaard*, published in February, 1957.

In his introductory chapter he emphasizes the point that Kierkegaard sought to answer the question: What does it mean for me to become a Christian? and follows with the statement 'Kierkegaard's work might almost be said to be a locus classicus for studying the main problem of philosophy of religion, which is that of understanding the nature of religious faith'. That is the main theme of the book; and the writer finds in Kierkegaard's themes of subjectivity and paradox considerable help in understanding the nature of religious faith.

We are introduced to this study by a background chapter on Hegel's philosophy of religion; so that Kierkegaard's famous challenge that Truth is Subjectivity can be seen in its proper perspective. This leads to the discussion in the middle chapters of the book of Kierkegaard's concept of the paradox of faith. This is where the study really begins to get interesting. Belief in the paradox centres on Kierkegaard's understanding of the doctrine of the Person of Christ as the Absolute Paradox. To Kierkegaard the coming of Christ is a paradox; for his contemporaries it lay in the fact that He is truly Man, who spoke like them and followed their habits and customs, and yet is truly God. For later generations the paradox is different for it is easier to imagine Him as the Son of God, and yet how could He be as He adopted the habit of mind of a particular age. So for Kierkegaard, 'the truth about Him, says faith, is that, contrary to all appearance, He was God', and so the paradox exists only for faith. This leads to Kierkegaard's faith-relation contemporaneity, which means that if we have faith in Christ, then we are contemporary with Him no matter to what age we belong. Thus the writer links Kierkegaard with the emphasis in contemporary theology which speaks of the nearness of Christ.

In the last chapter the writer sums up his work in estimating Kierkegaard's present importance in philosophy of religion, and how far certain essential points about religious faith, which the writer summarizes, can even be expressed in terms of the contemporary linguistic method in philosophy.

In summary they read as follows:—

Faith is not proof; the rebuttal of the empirical error; religious faith as the answer to a limiting question; the insistence on the inclusion of the Person; and lastly the clue to the meaningfulness of religion.

In this last section the writer attempts to show that what Kierkegaard really meant by faith can be understood best by

means of the techniques used in modern philosophical linguistic analysis. There is no need to hold up Kierkegaard as the leader of a great existentialist attack on the modern philosophers, for he can provide material for a reply to any denial of the meaningfulness of religious language. If this is true then here is a work that deserves praise for an attempt to come to terms with a radical split in the conversations between certain modern philosophers and theologians, in the light of the work (again a strange paradox) of one of the most revolutionary voices in modern Christian thought.

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*Come, O my Christ, be we sitting or lying
Together, both of us, laughing and crying!
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What reckoneth then this flesh to me?
Once to be rid of it, brave and free,
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Book Notice

A *Village Service Book*: Bishop Philip Loyd. *Publishers*—S.P.C.K. (Copies obtainable from S.P.C.K., Post Box 1585, Kashmere Gate, Delhi 6, and Post Box 501, Park Town, Madras 3.) Price 50 nP. 1956.

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